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ABSTRACT

This monograph introduces a conference addressing the educational issues of the edge cities of the urban Pacific Southwest. Edge cities on the outside of urban cores (edge cities) are currently facing many of the problems formerly experienced only in urban areas. Of the 30 fastest-growing cities of over 100,000 residents in the country, 19 are edge cities in Arizona, California, and Nevada where educationally disadvantaged students (EDSs) now constitute a significant percentage of the total number of children in school. Demographic data on EDSs, family composition, poverty status, language background, mother's education, and race/ethnicity are provided for Arizona, California, and Nevada. The combination of total population growth and the great increase in the number of EDSs to be served, including those of limited proficiency in English, challenges the edge cities. Changes in family structure also affect these cities. The effects of the changes on economic productivity and political participation and community and business responses are discussed. Data on how well schools in these areas are meeting the challenges indicate that the schools are least successful with non-Anglo, poor children. The SWRL is focusing on students in the edge cities through METRO, which hopes to develop an agenda that will assist edge cities in meeting the needs of the EDSs they serve. A 66-item list of references is included. (SLD)

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The Challenge to Edge Cities

Education Confronts Changing Demographics

Naida C. Tushnet

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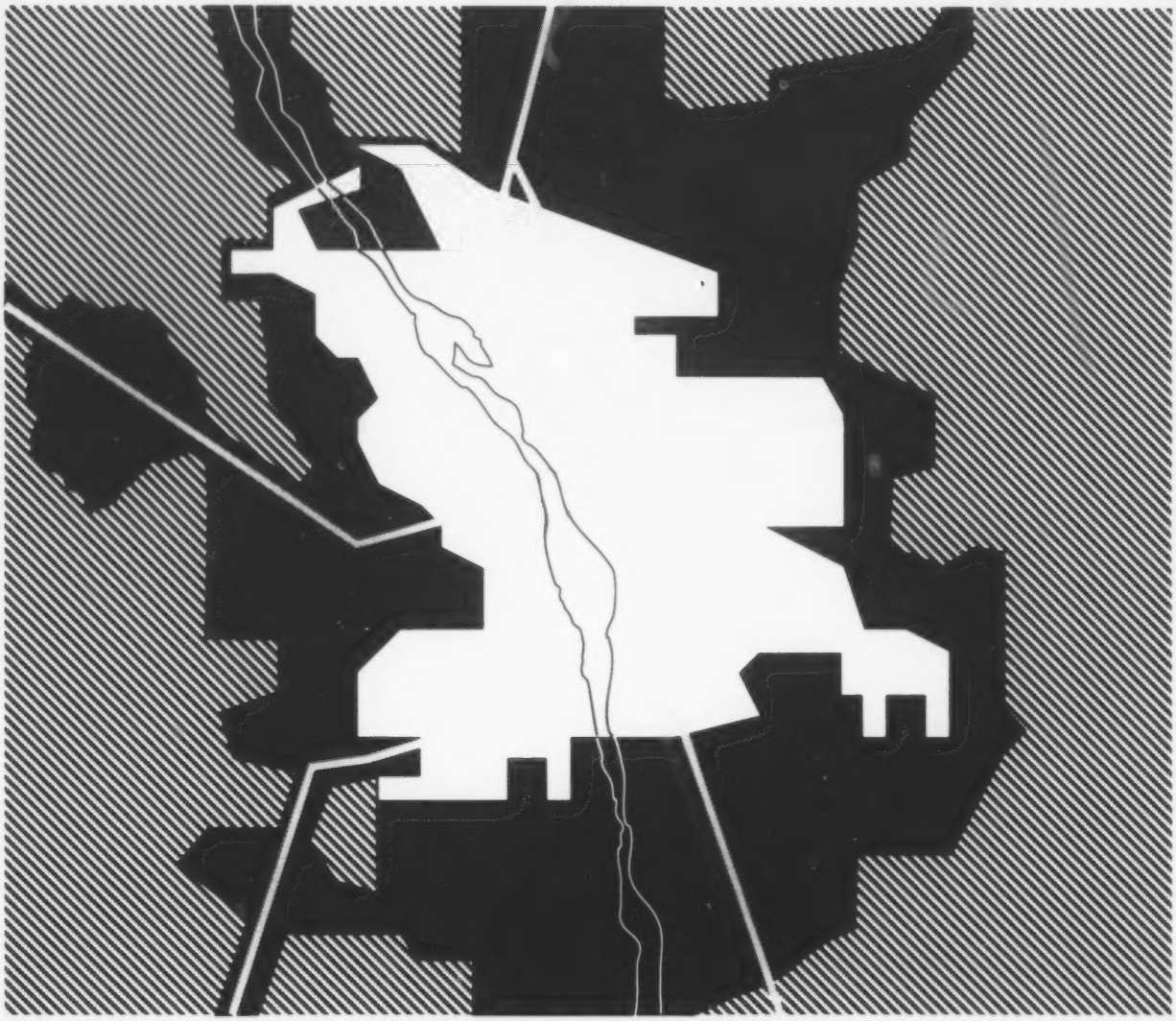
1991

Southwest Regional Laboratory
Los Alamitos, California



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FOREWORD

The good life. That pretty much described the way residents in Arizona, California, and Nevada used to characterize living in communities along the edges of metropolitan areas. Green grass, single-family housing, good schools, good neighbors, and good government. All the things that inner-city residents supposedly had in short and dwindling supply.

Then time caught up with these edge cities. They got large. And complicated. The suburbs developed suburbs and then another development would arise from the desert and the suburbs' suburbs would be ringed by still newer communities. Towns that had existed for 100 years watched the city move toward them, around them, and then beyond them.

Today the U.S. Census says that of the 30 fastest-growing cities over 100,000 population in the country, 23 are edge cities in Arizona and California. Local residents of these two states don't even recognize all of them: (e.g., how many Californians know where Moreno Valley, the country's fastest-growing city, is located?)

Sunday's real estate sections of the local newspapers would have readers believe that affluent Anglos inhabit these fast-growing communities. And to a large extent that has been true. But such a portrayal is no longer a complete picture.

Low income residents of the various states also have concluded that edge cities have less crime, better schools, cheaper housing, and an overall better lifestyle than inner cities. Consequently, poor residents of cities and recent immigrants both have been flocking to these outskirt communities.

Edge cities today are beginning to look more and more like their older, larger, urban cousins. And nowhere is the likeness more apparent than in the schools.

"Educationally disadvantaged" students of all kinds now constitute a significant percentage of the school children in edge cities. These children frequently exhibit one or more of the following characteristics: minorities, poor parents, single-parent families, mothers with little or no formal education, and an inability to communicate effectively in English.

For nearly 25 years the Southwest Regional Laboratory (SWRL) has focused its educational R&D talents on this student population. This year, with increased federal support, SWRL has started to concentrate on educationally disadvantaged students who reside in the region's edge cities. SWRL's efforts are captured in a scope of work contained in its new METRO Center (in this case, METRO stands for Metropolitan Educational Trends and Research Outcomes).

One of the METRO Center's first activities is a March, 1991 regional conference that addresses educational issues facing edge cities. And this monograph by METRO Center Director Naida Tushnet introduces that conference.

Naida examines issues surrounding academically disadvantaged students and places them in the context of edge cities. Although the tale she weaves isn't tragic, few readers will set down her monograph thinking the challenge facing edge city schools is being adequately met.

Readers of the monograph are invited to stay with Naida and her METRO Center as they begin an initial five-year effort to work in edge cities on problems affecting the educationally disadvantaged. Readers interested in further contact should address their interest to Naida at the METRO Center within the Southwest Regional Laboratory.

E. Joseph Schneider
Associate Executive Director, Southwest Regional Laboratory
March 13, 1991

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INTRODUCTION

In the past, only urban areas faced the challenges of large numbers of poor people and a racially and ethnically diverse population. Today, however, the areas that lie on the outskirts of urban cores are facing the same problems. "Edge cities," as they have become known, are former bedroom communities that have experienced tremendous growth—as high as 320% in the last 10 years— and now face some problems formerly experienced in urban areas only. For example:

- Since 1980, 21 cities on the fringes of urban areas in Arizona, California, and Nevada experienced a population growth of 30% or more; 9 cities more than doubled their population.

- Within these cities, the numbers of educationally disadvantaged students is increasing, with some districts almost doubling the numbers of such children they are expected to serve.

- Edge cities are not coping well with the challenge of educating their newcomers; poor children and children of color score below their middle-class and Anglo colleagues on achievement tests.

- Political representation remains in the hands of those who represent the long-term residents of the edge cities. Consequently, the interests of the increasing numbers of educationally disadvantaged students may be ignored.

- The edge cities, the states, and the nation require that this situation change.

Previously, people who wished to avoid urban challenges like those mentioned above simply moved to the suburbs, further from the urban core. Those further reaches have grown so much, however, that they have become cities in themselves; that is, the edge cities of central concern in this forum.

Edge cities have grown because they attract Anglos who wish to escape the challenges of the changing demography, as well as Latinos and Asians. Barring major changes in transportation technology, edge cities are about as far from the urban core as working

people can live; residents of many of these cities drive as much as 70 miles one way to work. But the challenges that people sought to escape now tax them. Consequently, the changing demographics and attendant problems must be addressed in edge cities.

The Southwest Regional Laboratory (SWRL), a public educational agency, established the METRO (Metropolitan Educational Trends and Research Outcomes) Center to address the challenge to edge cities. SWRL exists to address the challenges facing schools and youth-serving agencies that result from the changing demographics and increasing numbers of educationally disadvantaged children and youth confronting the metropolitan Pacific Southwest. It addresses its mission by engaging in research, development, evaluation, training, technical assistance, and policy analysis.

The METRO Center focuses primarily on the same set of challenges within edge cities. The Center implements research and development projects; performs policy analyses; provides technical assistance to schools, school districts, and educational organizations; facilitates communication among people with common concerns about educationally disadvantaged students; and provides relevant information to those audiences.

The METRO Center's focus on edge cities is derived from the belief that the challenges facing edge cities have not yet overwhelmed the possibility of success. SWRL believes edge city residents, educators, and business people have the energy and hope to overcome the hurdles placed before them by the changing demographics. And edge city school districts have not yet solidified the ways of doing business that frequently interfere with creative problem solving.

This paper provides information about the challenges facing metropolitan schools, particularly those in the edge cities in Arizona, California, and Nevada. It begins with a description of the demographics of those areas with information about the numbers of educationally disadvantaged children they serve. In the next section, data are provided on the outcomes of schooling, again with a focus on edge cities. Third, the implications of the changing demographics are discussed. The paper concludes with a description of METRO Center activities that address the challenges.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE METROPOLITAN PACIFIC SOUTHWEST

The challenge to the schools of concern to SWRL's METRO Center stems from the growth and increasing numbers of disadvantaged students in the metropolitan areas in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Although "metropolitan" districts include the major cities of the region, e.g., Los Angeles, San Diego, Tucson, and Las Vegas, the METRO Center focuses particularly on what Hodgkinson (1989) terms "edge cities." These are cities that have grown *around* the urban core and with formerly distant small towns that now are part of the "amoeba" of metropolitan areas.

Preliminary data from the 1990 U.S. Census underscore the significance of these edge cities. Of the 30 "fastest growing" U.S. cities with over 100,000 population, 23 are in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Of those, at least 19 are edge cities. For example, Moreno Valley, CA, was not even incorporated as a city in 1980 when its population was about 28,000. In 1990, its population was almost 119,000—a growth rate of almost 320%. Other high-growth edge cities in California include Irvine (77.6% growth, from 62,000 to 110,000), Oceanside (67.4% growth, 76,000 to 128,000), Santa Ana (44% growth, 204,000 to 294,000), and Pomona (42% growth, 93,000 to 132,000).

Edge cities also grew rapidly in Arizona. Mesa, Glendale, and Scottsdale grew 76% (from 163,000 to 288,000), 50% (98,000 to 148,134), and 45% (90,000 to 130,000), respectively (*New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1991).

Until detailed Census data that include information about what specific tracts are the fastest growing are released, it is more difficult to talk about Nevada. Nevada's governance structure is such that Las Vegas and Reno include areas that would be edge cities in other states. However, Las Vegas grew 56% since the last Census and Reno grew 32% (*New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1991).

Edge cities grow for many different reasons. For some, the largest portion of the growth comes from the upward mobility of the middle and upper middle classes. These people are escaping from the problems of older edge cities and suburbs. The growth of some edge cities is "related historically to white flight" (Fiore, 1991, p. 22). Population growth in these cities reflects the desire to escape from increasingly multiracial and multiethnic

schools in which Anglos constitute a minority. Those who fled continue to believe that African Americans and Latinos are more likely to live on welfare, be lazy, prone to violence, and less intelligent than whites (*Newsweek,* 1991, p. 57).

For other edge cities, the growth has been fed by the shift from a manufacturing economy and the subsequent loss of concentrated centers of jobs. This—coupled with the search for affordable housing—took individuals further from the urban core (Clifford & Roark, 1991). In such edge cities, houses with reasonable amounts of room remained affordable to two-income, working-class and lower middle-class families long after they were priced out of more close in residences. Even the poor found that their benefits stretched further in the edge cities than in urban areas.

Educational Disadvantage

Edge cities face a particular challenge as they address the needs of their educationally disadvantaged students. These cities have changed rapidly from rural and suburban communities that were once quite homogeneous in economic and cultural terms to ones encompassing a range of economic conditions and many cultures. Changes in family structure affect these cities as well. The sheer number of children from single-parent families and the time away from home resulting from long commutes to work in two-parent families creates a challenge to past ways of conducting business. This combination of the total population growth and the great increase in educationally disadvantaged students challenges the edge cities.

Pallas (1989) defines "educationally disadvantaged" students as young people who have "...been exposed to insufficient educational experiences in at least one of three domains: families, communities, schools." According to Pallas, there are five "indicators" of disadvantagedness: racial/ethnic identity, poverty status, family composition, mother's education, and language background. Each of these is correlated with educational disadvantage. Children who live in poverty, for example, are less likely than their middle-class counterparts to attend schools that have programs that expand and extend their horizons. Consequently, children in poverty are at a disadvantage as they move through the grades. It is important to emphasize that the "indicators" are just that—they are correlated with educational disadvantage. The fact that a child is from a family of color, poor, or raised in a single-parent household does not *determine* his or her fate.

The 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) identified six primary risk factors for students (Hafner et al., 1990, p. v). Some of them are similar to Pallas' indicators. For example, Pallas uses the term "family composition," while Hafner et al. use "single-parent family." Hafner et al. define Pallas' "poverty status" as "income less than $15,000." Hafner et al. use "parents with no high school diploma" similarly to Pallas' use of "mother's education" and "limited English proficiency" similarly to Pallas' "language background." There are differences on other issues. Perhaps most important is Pallas' inclusion of "racial/ethnic identity." Such an inclusion opens the discussion to include analyses of the persistent effects of racism. Finally, Hafner et al. include some indicators specific to the NELS study, like "home alone more than three hours a day."

Pallas and Hafner are careful to point out that "having a single risk factor does not indicate a child is destined for failure...in fact, most nonwhite students and students from single-parent homes **do** succeed in school. However, certain combinations of risk factors have been shown to be particularly detrimental to success" (Hafner et al., p. 12). Nationally, 20.4% of eighth-grade students exhibit two or more risk factors, with more blacks (40.9%) falling into this category than Hispanics (36.6%), American Indians or Alaskan Natives (31.5%), Asian/Pacific Islanders (15.2%), or whites (14%) (Hafner et al., p. 13).

The data in the following section are presented using the indicators Pallas identified. These indicators underscore the use of the term "educationally disadvantaged" as a construct that accounts for the relationships between the indicators and the outcomes of schooling.

Family Composition

Nationally, 22.3% of eighth graders live with only one parent. Black students (46.5%) are most likely to live in such households and American Indians/Alaskan Natives (31.1%) are the next most likely. Also living with only parent are 23.4% of Hispanic eighth graders, 17.7% of whites, and 14.3% of Asian/Pacific Islanders (Hafner et al., p. 6).

In California, one of every five children (20%) lives with only her or his mother (PACE, 1989, p. 32) and, of these, 43.5% live in poverty (PACE, p. 41). Three percent of children live in father-only households (PACE, p. 32). The 1980 U.S. Census provided this information about the percentage of children living with only mothers by ethnicity: white, 14.1%; black, 37.5%; Hispanic, 14.9%; Asian, 7.5%; and other, 4.1% (PACE, p. 33). In addition, 8.5% of children in 1980 lived in households without their parents, an increase from 5.5% in 1970 (PACE, p. 30). Based on news reports about crack users' children living with their grandparents, it is likely that the 1990 Census will show an increase in the number of children who live with neither parent.

Arizona's edge cities are found in two counties—Maricopa (Phoenix and its edge cities, including Glendale, Scottsdale, and Mesa) and Pima (Tucson and its edge cities). In Maricopa County, the 1980 Census showed 8.9% of the households as single-parent and in Pima County, 9.1% are. Again, the growth over the last 10 years is certain to bring with it an increase in students who come from single-parent families.

Data from the 1980 Census indicate that 10.1% of the households in Clark County, the major metropolitan area in Nevada, is comprised of single-parent families.

Historically, the most salient characteristic of family composition correlating with educational disadvantage has been the number of parents in the home. Children from single-parent households have been more likely to be at an educational disadvantage than children from two-parent households. However, edge city growth raises the likelihood that the family background variable may need to accommodate parents' time at home. In the fastest-growing areas in Southern California, for example, day-care centers are open from 4 a.m. to midnight and many children are in group care for 12 hours a day. Parents have little time to interact with their children, which may lead to an increased educational disadvantage for children from two-parent homes.

Poverty Status

The NELS data indicate that 21.1% of all eighth graders live in households with incomes below $15,000. For black children, it's 47%; American Indians/Alaska natives, 41.8%; Hispanics, 37.5%; Asian/Pacific Islanders, 18.3%; and whites, 14.1% (Hafner et al., p. 3).

The percentage of California children living in poverty rose from 12.7% in 1969 to a high of 25.6% in 1983. However, this was not in a steady pattern. It has fluctuated in the 20% range, and in 1987, the number of children in poverty was at 23.6% (PACE, 1989, p. 53). According to PACE, 10% of white children, 27% of Asian children, 32% of black children, and 34% of Hispanic children live in poverty (PACE, p. 57).

In California edge cities, as would be expected, there are differences in the poverty level between Irvine, for example, and the inland cities. Further, although the percentage of students identified as coming from economically impoverished homes has remained stable in a number of the cities, the enormous growth in those cities means that the sheer numbers of poor children have increased phenomenally. It is far easier to provide 10 students who are economically needy with the goods and experiences they lack than it is to do so for 300—even if the 10 and 300 represent 5% of the population. In the first instance, voluntary and individual responses can be adequate, but are unlikely to be in the second. There is a point at which quantitative changes have a qualitative effect. For example, a school district can serve 10 educationally disadvantaged children by providing support that requires little administrative activity, either within the district's own classrooms or through small-scale, pull-out programs. When the number of students increases to 30, policy and procedures—and administrative oversight—are needed to ensure the educationally disadvantaged receive equitable treatment.

As indicated above, Moreno Valley was the fastest-growing city in America during the past decade. The percentage of eighth graders that came from households that received Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in Moreno Valley also increased greatly, from 6.4% in 1984 to 11.9% in 1987. Oceanside, Santa Ana, Riverside, and Pomona saw fairly stable percentages of children whose families received AFDC, but the numbers increased greatly. In Santa Ana, Oceanside, and Riverside, the children whose families received AFDC fluctuated around 10% from 1984-87; and in Pomona, it was about 20%. However, the 10% represented an increase of almost 10,000 families in Santa Ana. The 20% in Pomona represented an increase of more than 40,000 families.

In Clark County, 6.7% of families were below the poverty level in 1980, representing about 12% of all children. In 1989, 17% of the students qualified for free or reduced-price lunches. In 1980, 7.5% of the families and 10.5% of the individuals in Maricopa County were below the poverty level, and in Pima, the numbers were 9.1% and 13%, respectively. In 1989, 24% of the students in Maricopa County received free or reduced-price lunches and in Pima County, 31% of its students were involved in the free or reduced-price lunch program.

Language Background

Nationally, 2.3% of eighth graders are limited English proficient (LEP) students. LEP students include Hispanics (8.8%); American Indian/Alaskan natives (8.6%); Asian Pacific Islanders (7.1%); blacks (1.6%); and whites (.8%).

About one-fourth of California's students speak a language other than English and one-half of them are LEP students. Further, one in four students in kindergarten through third grade is designated as LEP, an increase from one in five in 1989-90 (Trombley, 1991). The number of LEP students in California tripled from 1977 to 1988. The number of these students increased almost 100,000 from 1988 to 1989, and these students, as a whole, speak more than 80 languages. Of the 13% of California students who were LEP in 1987, 67.9% attended school in the nine southern counties of the state, with Los Angeles accounting for 46% of the statewide total (PACE, 1989, p. 104).

In the six most rapidly growing large (over 100,000 population) edge cities in California, the percentage of LEP students enrolled in sixth grade increased in four of the cities, including Irvine—which is largely Anglo, and decreased in two cities between 1984 and 1987. In all but Pomona, the absolute numbers of LEP students in sixth grade increased. The number of LEP students increased in: Irvine from 3% (35 students) to 5% (63 students); Santa Ana, from 24.8% (414 students) to 28% (524 students); Riverside, from 2.9% (48 students) to 5% (96 students); and Oceanside, from 2.4% (19 students) to 6.6% (60 students). Percentages of LEP students decreased in Moreno Valley from 2.4% (22 students) to 1.5% (19 students) and Pomona from 10.4% (164 students) to 7.7% (131 students).

Maricopa County, AZ, serves 24,112 LEP students (6.44%) and Pima County serves 9,358 (8.48%). The number of LEP students in Las Vegas tripled from 1984 to 1989, when it reached 4,200 (Pappa, 1989).

Mother's Education

A little over one-tenth (10.5%) of American eighth graders live with parents who have not completed high school. By far, more Hispanic students (33.4%) than black (15.8%), American Indian/Alaskan native (13.4%), Asian/Pacific Islander (8.8%), or white students (6.2%) live in such households (Hafner et al., p. 15). Twenty three percent of children in California live with parents who have less than a high school education; however, 49.4% of poor children live in such households (PACE, 1989, p. 56).

Because school districts do not routinely collect data on the education levels of mothers, most sources rely on U.S. Census data. The data on family education from the 1990 Census have not yet been released. Riverside Unified School District collected data on parent education levels as part of its strategic planning process. Those data will serve as one example of an edge city. Riverside reported changes in the education level of parents in the district from the 1984-85 school year to the 1989-90 school year. During the former, only 8% of parents were not high school graduates; this increased to 12% in 1989-1990. The percentages of parents at all other educational levels decreased during the same period: high school graduates decreased from 23% to 19%; some college, from 25% to 24%; college graduates, from 27% to 20%; and parents with advanced degrees, from 14% to 13% (Acosta-Cooper, 1991).

Race/Ethnicity

Data concerned with the ethnic/racial characteristics of the student body were obtained from Arizona, California, and Nevada. The information reported for Arizona and Nevada is for the 1989-90 school year, and for California, those data reflect enrollments and employment in 1988-89.

Anglo students in California now comprise less than one-half of the student body (48.8%). Hispanic students comprise 31.4%; blacks, 8.9%; Asians, 7.5%; Pacific Islanders, .5%; Filipinos, 2.2%; and American Indians and Alaskan Natives, .8% (CBEDS, 1989, p. 11).

There is variation in the numbers of students in each racial/ethnic category in California's rapidly growing large edge cities. In some, the number of students of color is high, while others remain largely Anglo. For example, Hispanics in Santa Ana represent 78.1% of the student body and whites represent 9.8%. Pomona schools are 53.5% Hispanic, 19.8% black, 19.3% white, and 5.7% Asian students. In stark contrast, Irvine schools serve a student body that is 75.1% white, 16.1% Asian, and only 5.2% Hispanic. Riverside, Oceanside, and Moreno Valley fall in between these percentages. In Riverside, Hispanics represent 25.6% of the student population; blacks, 14.7%; and whites, 59.6%. Oceanside's student body is comprised of 30.2% Hispanics, 43.8% whites, 16.1% blacks, and 3.3% Asians. The figures in Moreno Valley are 61.9% white, 18.3% Hispanic, 14.7% black, and 4.1% Asian.

In Arizona, Anglos represent 63.1% of the student body; Hispanics, 24.5%; blacks, 4.1%; American Indians, 6.8%; and Asian/Pacific Islanders, 1.47%.

Nevada school children are overwhelmingly Anglo (75.6%), with blacks and Hispanics representing 9.2% and 9.8% of the school population, respectively. Further, most minority students in the state are concentrated in Clark County (Las Vegas), where Hispanics comprise 10% of the enrollment; blacks, 14%; Asian/Pacific Islanders, 3.8%; and American Indians/Alaskan Natives, .7% (Nevada Department of Education, 1990, p. 13).

Conclusion: The Metropolitan Pacific Southwest

Within the region, the population of edge cities is growing faster than the overall population growth of the states. In addition, the number of disadvantaged students is increasing. California demonstrates the growth and diversity clearly. First, preliminary results of the 1990 U.S. Census indicate a gain of more than 5 million people, or 25.7%, during the past 10 years. The Hispanic and Asian populations grew at greater rates than did the white or black populations. The current California population is: white, 20,524,327 (13.8% increase); black, 2,208.801 (21.4% increase); American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut, 242,164 (20.3% increase); Asian or Pacific Islander, 2,845,659 (127% increase); Hispanic origin, 7,687,938 (69.2% increase); and other, 3,939,070 (66.7% increase).

Of these people, approximately 1.6 million are legal immigrants (Suro, 1990; Fulwood, 1990) and 81% of the population growth is among non-Anglos. The 1980 Census showed that 28% of documented immigrants to the United States settled in California. Estimates are that 50% of undocumented immigrants settled in the state (Kellogg, 1988, p. 201) and 30% of all illegal immigrants counted in the 1980 Census lived in Los Angeles County (*Education Week*, May 14, 1986, p. 16). The 1980 Census also revealed that 91% of California's children lived in urban areas (PACE, 1989, p. 22).

Arizona and Nevada' populations also grew, with a 34.8% increase in Arizona and a 50.7% increase in Nevada. The Census data from Arizona are: white, 2,963,186 (32.2% increase); black, 110,524 (47.4% increase); American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut, 203,527 (33.2% increase); Asian or Pacific Islander, 55,206 (150.6% increase); Hispanic origin, 688,338 (56.2% increase); and other, 3,939,070 (66.7% increase). Cities with more than 100,000 population witnessing the largest growth in Arizona include the edge cities of Mesa, Glendale, and Scottsdale.

The number of students who are at risk or educationally disadvantaged is considerable and increasing. The need for services for them is enormous. The demand for instruction for LEP students alone is growing. In addition, children from low-income families are in need of other social services. For example, the cost to vaccinate a child against diphtheria, tuberculosis, and pertussis (DPT), polio, measles, mumps, and rubella increased from about $5 in 1977 to more than $30 in 1986 (PACE, 1989, p. 157). And the growing

numbers of single-parent families and two-parent families in which the parents spend long periods commuting to and from work has increased demands for child-care centers and family day-care homes.

Even more disturbing are indications that the gap between poverty and comfort seems unbreachable. During the 1980s, "the richest 1% increased their average income by 75%. The bottom 40% had no real income growth at all" (Kuttner, November 5, 1990, p. 6B). The absence of jobs for semi-skilled and skilled workers removes the path to economic security travelled by earlier immigrants. Also, current tax and regulatory policies favor the advantaged over the disadvantaged. According to sociologist Mike Davis, "...for tens of thousands of people, there's only one rung of the ladder. There's no place to climb up" (Benant, 1990). As is discussed later in the paper, edge cities have more low-paying service jobs than ones that provide opportunities for the upward mobility.

OUTCOMES

Schooling has individual and social outcomes. Among the individual outcomes is preparation for productive adulthood, which includes economic productivity and participation in public affairs. Although these outcomes are measured in terms of individuals, they affect the society. For example, the nation's loss of its economic competitive edge has been associated with the decline in individual student achievement by such bodies as the National Commission on Educational Excellence and the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession.

Schools are not the only institutions responsible for ensuring that students perform well in the marketplace and in civic life. Indeed, the importance of parents, the media, businesses, religious organizations, labor unions, and other community groups cannot be underestimated. The changing economic and demographic context means that those institutions—as well as schools—must change. This section of the paper focuses on how well-prepared students leave schools for work, politics, and community life. The premise is that schools are important *contributors* to how well students perform as adults.

This section of the paper is organized around the two outcomes mentioned above—economic productivity and participation in public affairs. The discussion of each outcome begins with analyses of alternative views of how the outcome should be defined and the most useful definitions for assessing how well young people are prepared for adulthood. Data are presented that indicate how well schools are meeting the challenge of rapidly changing demographics. The data indicate that schools are least successful with non-Anglo, poor children.

Recent discussions of school failure have focused largely on education's role in assuring there will be a work force that is able to maintain a high standard of living in the country. In addition, both educators and others have expressed concern about the level and quality of political participation in the nation. These issues are discussed in the following section.

Economic Productivity

The importance of students' capacity for economic productivity is stated *and* assumed in such calls for reform as *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Educational Excellence, 1983) and *A Nation Prepared* (Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986), as well as the six national educational goals agreed to by the U.S. governors in 1989. *A Nation Prepared* begins with these words:

> America's ability to compete in world markets is eroding. The productivity growth of our competitors outdistances our own. The capacity of our economy to provide a high standard of living for all our people is increasingly in doubt as jobs requiring little skill are automated or go offshore, and demand increases for the highly skilled, the pool of educated and skilled people grows smaller and the backwater of the unemployable rises. Large numbers of American children are in limbo—ignorant of the past and unprepared for the future. Many are dropping out—not just out of school, but out of productive society.
>
> As in past economic and social crises, Americans turn to education. They rightly demand an improved supply of young people with the knowledge, the spirit, the stamina, and the skills to make the nation once again fully competitive—in industry, in commerce, in social justice and progress, and, not least, in the ideas that safeguard a free society (p. 2).

Two of the national goals developed by the governors at the Education Summit in 1989 directly refer to productive employment. Goal Three states: "...every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well so that they may be prepared for...productive employment in our modern economy." Goal Five states: "...every adult American will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy..." (National Governors Association, 1989).

From the business side, the Committee for Economic Development posits that the quality of pre-collegiate education is the key determinant of how well the labor force will be able to adapt to productivity-enhancing technologies (Committee for Economic Development, 1984).

From one perspective, students would be economically productive if they were able to do the jobs presented to them. In this view, the appropriate outcome of schooling are students who have "learned to labor" (Willis, 1977). This position includes the perspective that one function of schools is to sort young people so that the economic relationships that currently exist remain in place (Bowles & Gintis, 1977). Within that framework, large numbers of workers labor at jobs requiring few skills, while being supervised by a smaller elite group. There is evidence that some in the business community support such a view. Magaziner (1990) found many American companies have increased the number of low-wage and temporary workers they employ. These workers are expected to do little more than show up and do what they are told, yet are paid accordingly.

The view that an appropriate outcome of schooling is learning to labor in the traditional sense is inadequate. An alternative perspective is that students should not only be prepared to do, but also to think about doing so they can contribute to the economy's transformation. This perspective is rooted in philosophy, cognitive science, and political economics. Its philosophical roots include Dewey's view of "head and hand," in which he argued that working with one's hands provides the basis for understanding how the world works. "Head work" (i.e., thinking) provides the conceptual frameworks into which the understandings fit (Wirth, 1966). From a cognitive science perspective, the head and hand association allows for the development of "intelligent organization of action, finely fitted to task demands and resources and to the intentions of the actor" (Scribner, 1988, p. 10). The association of head and hand is particularly useful to prepare students for tasks that are not routine and require the workers to solve problems that emerge.

From the perspective of political economics, Giroux (1983) and Giroux and McLaren (1986) argue that it is important for workers to think about how the tasks they are performing and the industries in which they work serve needs that may or may not be in their interests. Perhaps the clearest example of work that is not in the interests of the workers involves environmentally hazardous industries. If those who worked with asbestos, for example, were prepared to question and challenge the industry itself, information that existed about its danger might have been subject to public scrutiny earlier

than it did. Under current circumstances, workers who are able to think and act in terms of their own interests will be able to contribute to building ladders with more than one rung.

In part, workers' contributions to building the ladder is particularly important because the workplace is changing, with concomitant changes in workers' relationships to one another. As Davis (Benant, 1990) points out, job growth is occurring in fields that are nonunionized. Consequently, not only is social mobility made difficult, but individuals have less opportunity to discover that concerns and needs are shared by their colleagues than they had in the past. It is particularly important for entering workers to be able to think and talk about their work to improve the productivity of the work as well as the conditions under which it is performed.

Support for this position comes from many sources. First, Magaziner (1990) presents data indicating that the nation must face the need to increase worker productivity to restore economic prosperity. Reorganizing the workplace around teams of workers responsible for the entire product results in greater flexibility, increased quality control, and more productivity. Indeed, some employers define desirable traits of workers as including—but going beyond—dependability and cooperativeness (Natriello, 1989, p. 10). They are concerned that workers understand the work or business environment and possess basic skills as differentiated from job-specific. Communications and problem-solving skills are particularly important in the rapidly changing technological environment of the workplace (Natriello, 1989, p. 10). In addition to general communications skills, new workers must be able to communicate in the context of the current and increasingly multicultural workplace.

In addition, older, advantaged people have a stake in ensuring that disadvantaged students develop workplace skills that allow them to move beyond reproducing current economic relationships. That stake stems from the fact that there is greater fertility among disadvantaged populations than advantaged ones. Part of the difference results from the younger average age of African Americans and Latinos than of Anglos (Hodgkinson, 1985) and the greater number of childbearing years that remain as a result. Another part

of the difference arises from the greater fertility rate of Latino women than of Anglos (Hayes-Bautista et al., p. 53). As the advantaged population retires, the nation's living standard will depend increasingly on the productivity of workers currently overrepresented in low-skill, low-wage occupations and underrepresented in highly productive fields.

By any measure, too many young Americans lack the skills necessary to work with the productivity-enhancing technology that is the hallmark of the 1990s. In the past, industries that "expect to make only a narrow range of products with the same equipment for several years could make do with low-skilled workers who had little conceptual understanding of what they were doing, even if the machines were highly sophisticated" because workers could teach one another and literally *feel* the machinery to solve problems that arose (Bailey, 1989, p. 13). However, if America is to use available technology in ways that enhance productivity rather than to "dumb down" the tasks, workers must be able to read complex directions and recognize and solve problems. Further, taking full advantage of available technology involves major changes in the way work is structured. In other developed nations, for example, assembly lines have been reorganized so that teams are responsible for the entire product (Shanker, 1991). Such teamwork increases interdependency among workers, thereby increasing the importance of high levels of communication skills. As Berryman (1988) put it:

> ...changes in the economy require **teamwork abilities** and the **ability to resolve conflicts.** Under mass production, employees, especially those in factory floor and "back office" jobs, often worked alone, albeit in physical proximity to each other. As job responsibilities broaden and increasingly intermesh, workers have to function collaboratively...(p. 19, emphasis not added).

In general, American students are not well-prepared to become productive workers in an environment that requires complex thinking and communication skills. The situation is much worse for educationally disadvantaged students than for the privileged. Data to support this assertion follow.

Although American students "are learning facts and skills...few show the capacity for complex reasoning and problem solving" (NAEP, 1990, p. 33). For example, only 6.4% of 17-year-olds could solve multistep problems and use basic algebra, although 99.9% could add and subtract two-digit numbers (NAEP, p. 19). Similar gaps between basic and higher-order skills exist in reading (only 4.8% of 17-year-olds can synthesize specialized reading materials, but 98.9% can comprehend specific or sequentially related information [NAEP, p. 14]); science (7.5% of 17-year-olds can infer relationships and draw conclusions using detailed scientific knowledge as compared to 96.7% who understand some basic principles [NAEP, p. 21]); and writing (a field in which 56% of students could write adequate responses for a narrative writing task, but only 36% could write adequate persuasive prose [NAEP, p. 18]).

In fact, the NAEP data reveal some reading improvement since the 1970s. However, despite gains made during the 1980s in science, the performance of 17-year-olds in 1986 was still lower than that of their counterparts in 1969. There has been virtually no change in mathematics and writing. In general, the largest gains are in the basic skills, while there are declines in the percentages of students who can apply knowledge and critical thought at higher levels.

Performance gaps remain between white students on the one hand and black and Hispanic students on the other. However, the average performance gap in reading between white and black students became smaller as students moved through schools (from 29 points at 9 years of age to 20 points for 17-year-olds) (NAEP, 1990, p. 39) and the gap between white and Hispanic students has decreased at age 9 and then remained steady (NAEP, p. 41). Performance differences remain quite constant in mathematics and writing (NAEP, p. 41, 47).

A more discouraging picture is presented by the percentage of eighth-grade students at an advanced proficiency level in reading and math. In mathematics, 35% of Asians and 23% of whites are at an advanced proficiency level, while only 9% of Hispanics and 6% of blacks and American Indians are (Hafner et al., June 1990, p. 26). In reading, more students of every group achieve advanced proficiency, but there are clear differences

between groups. The percentage of students at advanced levels of proficiency in reading are: white, 39%; Asian, 38%; Hispanic, 21%; black, 19%; and American Indian/Alaskan Native, 15%. Further, among those who usually speak Spanish, only 10% achieve advanced proficiency and about 30% score below the basic level (Hafner et al., p. 29).

Finally, both blacks and Hispanics continue to drop out of school at a higher rate than whites. In 1986, the total percentage of 18- and 19-year-old high school dropouts was 12.3 (13.1% male and 11.5% female). Among whites, the total was 11.9% (12.8% male, 11% female); blacks, 14.9% (14.6% male, 15.2% female); and Hispanics, 26.8% (29.1% male, 24.1% female) (NCES, 1989, p. 106).

Data about student achievement in edge cities match the national information. Students from these cities do not seem well-prepared for work in technologically advanced businesses. Most edge city districts in California reported scaled scores on the reading and math sections of the California Assessment Program (CAP) tests below the median in 1987-88. On a scale that runs from 100 to 400 for eighth graders, with 200 as the median, only Irvine (311) and Riverside (252) reported scores above the median. Moreno Valley came close with 249. Santa Ana reported 228, Oceanside reported 236, and Pomona, 183. These results indicate that even the "high" scoring districts are not preparing students well for complex problem solving.

Achievement score differences by race and ethnicity in edge cities also mirror national findings. In Riverside, for example, black and Hispanic students score below Anglo and Asian students and typically score below grade level. Even Hispanic students who speak only English score below their Anglo colleagues (Acosta-Cooper, 1991). At grade 10 on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, white students in Maricopa County, AZ, had percentile ranks of 61; Asian, 60; Hispanic, 35; American Indian, 34; and black, 31. In Pima County, the percentile ranks were: white, 61; Asian, 55; Hispanic, 39; black, 36; and American Indian, 33. Students who score low on the tests are unable to solve problems or analyze complex issues.

Another indication of the schools' failure to prepare students for the world of work comes from tests administered by Pacific Bell to 6,400 applicants for telephone operator positions. Only 42% of those tested passed (Akst, 1991).

Berlin and Sum (1988) argue:

> Achievement...determines attainment (number of years of schooling completed), which then determines employability and earnings, which influences the likelihood of marrying and bearing children within a two-parent family. Thus, there is a strong relationship between low basic skills and the incidence of welfare dependency...among young adults. It is also clear that the higher the test score in reading, word knowledge, and mathematics, the less likely it is that a young person will drop out of school prior to graduation (p. 28).

In summary, American students in general are not achieving the levels of skills necessary to become productive workers, particularly if "productivity" includes the ability to think about, and perhaps transform, the nature of work itself. Further, the problem is greater for the educationally disadvantaged. Although there has been movement toward narrowing achievement gaps between whites and children of color, progress is less evident at higher levels of skills than at lower levels. The gap itself remains unacceptably large and presages continuation of a society in which people of color disproportionately occupy low-income (or no income) positions. Consequently, poverty becomes an inescapable condition.

Population movements to edge cities mean that increasing percentages of new workers will come from these areas. If students, particularly the educationally disadvantaged, from these cities remain as ill-prepared to work with productivity-enhancing technology as they currently are, the states will witness economic stagnation. With growing populations, lack of economic growth means a decline in the quality of life. Consequently, failure to address the low level of analytic and problem-solving skills of students in edge cities bodes ill.

Political Participation

Another outcome of schooling is the development of responsible citizens. The importance of civic outcomes dates from the early years of the republic and is rooted in Jefferson's view that "if a nation wishes to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." That education for responsible citizenship remains important is indicated in the opening of *A Nation Prepared*: "in social justice and progress, and, not least, in the ideas that safeguard a free society" (National Commission on Educational Excellence, 1983). The two national goals that address economic productivity also address citizenship issues. Goal Three states "...every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship...," and Goal Five states, "...will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to...exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship" (National Governors Association, 1989).

The history of American education contains two views of what constitutes appropriate education for political participation. On the one hand, there is the "for God and country" view of what schools should accomplish with young people. Proponents of this view argue that schools should inculcate students with patriotism and devotion to their country. As former U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett said, schools should inculcate democratic character through the "quiet power of moral example." Others argue for a "critical" view. That is, one that provides students with the tools to analyze political messages, understand their own goals and what public actions are required to achieve them, and to make informed choices among positions (Gutmann, 1987; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1988; Berlak & Berlak, 1981). A synthesis of the two, emphasizing critical analysis and action within the context of patriotism, is useful to determine how well schools are preparing students for citizenship.

American students are neither knowledgeable about the civic realm nor actively involved in it. Although 99.4% of 12th-graders know simple historical facts, such as national holidays and patriotic symbols, only 45.9% understand basic historical terms and relationships and only 4.6% know and can interpret relatively detailed historical information and ideas (NAEP, 1990, p. 23). Within the realm of civics, the performance also is problematic: 98.8% of 12th-graders recognize the existence of civic life, but only 49%

understand specific government structures and functions and only 6% understand a variety of political institutions and processes (NAEP, p. 25).

Further, as in other content areas, there are differences in average proficiency scores in history and civics related to ethnic background. On a 500-point scale, 12th-graders scored 295 in history, with scores of whites averaging 301; blacks, 274; and Hispanics, 273. In civics, Hispanics averaged higher scores (279) than blacks (273), but both were lower than whites (301).

Students residing in edge cities are only slightly more knowledgeable about history and civics than students nationwide. California tests students in history at grade eight. In the edge cities, only Irvine reported a standard score above 300 in 1987-88 (321). The range for the other cities was from 213 (Pomona) to 259 (Riverside), with Santa Ana (221), Oceanside (232), and Moreno Valley (247) falling in between. Students with such scores are unlikely to have the background knowledge to understand political discourse and act as informed voters.

Additional evidence of the alienation from public life of young people comes from *The Age of Indifference: A Study of Young Americans and How They View the News* (Kellerman et al., 1990). The study revealed that young people are less interested in major news stories and less likely to correctly identify key American newsmakers over 30, who themselves are not terribly attentive or informed (p. 1). Further, only 36% of Americans aged 18-24 voted in the 1988 presidential election, compared to 65% of those over 25. The percentage compares unfavorably with the participation of 18 to 24-year-olds in the 1972 presidential election, in which 50% of that age group voted. Finally, the Times Mirror Corporation analyzed the "basic political values that animate voter behavior."

Differences in political participation exist according to age, income level, and years of education. For example, in 1982, only 38.7% of those earning less than $10,000 voted as compared to 62% of those earning $35,000 or more, while 19.5% of blue collar workers voted as compared to 57.8% of white collar workers (Hayes-Bautista et al., 1988). As

might be expected from the Times Mirror poll, older citizens vote at a higher rate than younger citizens (Hayes-Bautista, et al., 1988). Finally, years of schooling is associated with voting behavior. In 1982, 35.7% of those with eighth-grade educations voted while 66.5% of college graduates did so (Hayes-Bautista et al., 1988).

Political participation also varies by ethnicity. While part of this variance can be accounted for by issues of age, income level, and years of education, the full explanation does not rest there. For example, Latinos tend to be younger, poorer, and have fewer years in school than Anglos, which accounts for some of the differences in participation. However, at every age, income level, and years of schooling, Latinos vote less frequently than Anglos (Hayes-Bautista et al., 1988). In the 1982 national elections, 25.3% of all Latinos aged 18 and older voted compared to 49.9% of Anglos and 43 % of blacks (Hayes-Bautista et al., 1988). Asian participation also is low (Mydans, 1991).

The lack of knowledge and understanding of civic institutions and citizens' rights and responsibilities exhibited by youth is witness that students leave schools no more able to participate in civic life than they are able to participate in economic life, let alone transform either. Further, the differences between the educationally advantaged and the educationally disadvantaged are as clear with regard to political participation as they are with regard to economic preparation. Finally, as edge cities grow in political importance, the failure of young people, particularly the educationally disadvantaged, from those areas to be active in the public arena will leave political decisionmaking—including how resources are allocated—in the hands of an ever smaller elite.

The demographic changes and the widening gap between the comfortable and the poor have led communities to respond in ways that lessen social cohesion. There are two ways of defining social cohesion. The first can be characterized in terms of the social compact of Locke, Jefferson, and, later, Rawls (1971). The social compact posits that individuals agree to live together by certain rules, and, in exchange, are guaranteed rights and equitable treatment. The other aspect of social cohesion is fuzzier. It is frequently characterized as a "communitarian" view of society, in which individuals commit themselves to a greater good (Bellah et al., 1985).

COMMUNITY RESPONSES

From both perspectives, as the number of educationally disadvantaged children increases, the importance of the role of public institutions in fostering an appropriate level of social cohesion increases. In a monocultural society in which family structures, religious organizations, and voluntary associations are more alike than different, the cohesion is easily achieved and public institutions simply reflect it. However, in a multicultural society with different family structures, varied religious organizations, and voluntary associations espousing a wide range of beliefs and values, public institutions must find and build upon the common values and beliefs and ensure that individuals are treated equitably. Such values include the acceptance, and more, of difference on numerous dimensions, but with a core commitment to the community writ large.

A pluralistic society also must embody a "culture of coherence" (Bellah et al., 1985) that provides a "sense of growing up in a morally and intellectually intelligible world" (p. 282). In such a culture, people are able to "discover enough common interest across the discontinuities of region, class, religion, race, and sex to order and regulate the affairs of a giant industrial society" (Bellah et al., 1985, p. 201). Further, members of the society believe they have obligations to the society and it, in turn, has obligations to them.

A variety of statistics indicate that those at the bottom of the economic ladder feel little mutual responsibility with the society at large. For example, the rise of gangs and of gang violence is an indication that young people are alienated from the rest of the community. Gang members are loyal to those they know, but everyone outside the gang is an "other." In Los Angeles County in 1990, one out of every three homicides was gang related—an increase from one out of 10 in 1980—and gang membership doubled since 1985 (Boyle, 1991). Community leaders in edge cities report that gangs, graffiti, and drug abuse are growing problems for them (Fiore, 1991).

Another indicator of the lack of social cohesion is involvement in the criminal justice system. In California, one of every three African American males ages 20 to 29 is under criminal justice supervision (in prison, on probation, or on parole). This compares to 23% of African American men nationally, 9.4% of Latino males (same age) in California, and 5.4% of white males (same age) in the state (Fry & Schiraldi, 1990, p. 2).

Finally, the dropout rate among the poor, blacks, and Hispanics exceeds that of Anglos and middle class members. In 1986, the total percentage of 18- and 19-year-old high school dropouts was 12.3 (13.1% male and 11.5% female). Among whites, the total was 11.9% (12.8% male, 11% female); blacks, 14.9% (14.6% male, 15.2% female); and Hispanics, 26.8% (29.1% male, 24.1% female) (NCES, 1989, p. 106). Within the region, Clark County had a dropout rate of 11.2% as compared to Nevada's 9.5% (*Status Report*, 1990). For California as a whole, the high school completion rate in 1989 was 67.3%, but only 53.7% for Latinos and 53.5% for blacks (Merl, 1991). In Riverside, with an overall dropout rate of 7.2% in 1988-89, the rate for Hispanics was almost 10%; for blacks, 8.5%; for Asians 6.7%; and for Anglos, 6.5% (Acosta-Cooper, 1991).

Data like these have led political scientist Lawrence Mead to remark, "We're trying to prevent a secession of the poor—from work, school, politics, from mainstream institutions of every kind" (Applebome & de Parle, 1991, p. 1A).

The same language of "secession" was used by Robert Reich to characterize the actions of the nation's high earners, what he calls the "fortunate top fifth" (Reich, 1991). According to Reich, "the fortunate fifth is quietly seceding from the rest of the nation" (Reich, 1991, p. 42). This secession, he says, is "most apparent in how and where they have chosen to work and live" (p. 43)—in edge cities like Irvine—without acknowledging either a financial or social responsibility for the quality of life in other cities and towns. Although ethnic minorities who are members of the "fortunate fifth" are welcome in the community, racial and ethnic stereotyping and prejudice persists, particularly with regard to the poor (*Newsweek*, 1991).

The individuals who have moved to edge cities in flight from non-Anglos and the poor will find, over time, that flight is impossible. The growth of the non-Anglo population and the increase in the numbers of the poor mean that few edge cities will escape the challenges of the changing demographics. Further, people in edge cities now commute for about as long a period of time as they can so "moving on" will become a less viable option than it was in the past. If the fortunate fifth who live outside the urban core respond to the challenges in the same way as their counterparts in the cities, they will

increasingly put their children in private schools or create political pressure for the development of different types of public schools. We can expect, then, ever increasing pressure for educational "choice" programs, either in the form of magnet schools or with some sort of voucher system. Educating children in institutions that are differentiated in major ways—particularly in the socioeconomic class of the clients they serve—will further weaken social cohesion.

The decline in social cohesion serves as the backdrop for analyzing how the business and political sectors are responding to the challenge of the changing demographics. Their response, in turn, is inextricably intertwined with the response of the educational sector. The following section focuses on current responses of the business community and in the political arena.

Business Response

The business community has provided leadership in identifying the education problems and suggesting solutions. Organizations like the various state business roundtables and the Committee for Economic Development have argued for improved pre-college education to enable the nation to compete in the new world economy. This section presents the critique of schools offered by such organizations and provides information about how business is responding to the crisis in the schools and the changing demographics.

Leaders from the business sector claims that schools are not preparing students adequately to "adjust to changes resulting from new productivity-enhancing technologies" (Berlin & Sum, 1988, p. 1). They point to facts such as one cited by the chief executive officer of Pacific Telesis: 60% of those who apply for jobs with the company cannot pass an exam that is on the seventh-grade level (Weintraub, 1991). On the other hand, many businesses are responding to the changing technology by "dumbing down" work and relying increasingly on part-time and contract labor. Some trends identified include employing more contingent workers and "downskilling" work for those less educated.

Businesses have been in the forefront of the push for school "restructuring." The California Business Roundtable released a report indicating that four out of five of the state's business leaders support a "'comprehensive restructuring' of the way schools are run" (Weintraub, 1991, p. 3). This restructuring would replace the current system that focuses on inputs such as courses or subjects taught to one that "stressed student achievement and frequently tested their ability to meet statewide standards" (Weintraub, 1991, p. 28). The Roundtable also urged careful consideration of the German model of schooling, which tests high school students and assigns them to either college courses or job training. In the job training program, students divide their time between school and work. Finally, the Roundtable recommended that the state adopt policies that allow parents to choose the school their children attend.

The espousal of parental choice programs by businesses has gone beyond rhetoric. According to Akst (1991), the chief executive officers of four major corporations in Los Angeles are raising $100 million for the Archdiocesan Education Foundation. Not all of the four executives are Catholic. The funds will provide tuition support for attendance at

Catholic schools. These executives believe that tuition subsidies will allow poor children to have the same choices as do middle class children (Akst, 1991).

Other actions of businesses involve scholarships for poor children through such mechanisms as "I Have a Dream" programs and "adopt a school" programs involving donations of computers, books, or other goods and services. Programs also bring managers from the private sector into the schools on a regular basis and encourage successful minorities to serve as mentors to young people. Indeed, the California governor hopes to build on the last program to encourage motivation in students. One company, Hewlett-Packard, combines a number of elements to build a comprehensive school support program. For example, Hewlett-Packard sends scientists to work with classroom teachers, provides mentors to students, talks with teachers about what they need to do to prepare students for high-tech careers, donates equipment, provides an executive-on-loan to a dropout prevention program, sponsors a summer workshop for teachers, and provides support staff for computer labs (*Operation Education News*, 1990).

However, business donations to education and other charitable causes increased little during the 1980s. According to Reich (1991):

> In the 1970s, corporate giving to education jumped an average of 15% a year. In 1990, however, giving was only 5% over that in 1989; in 1989 it was 3% over 1988. Moreover, most of this money goes to colleges and universities...Only 1.5% of corporate giving in the late 1980s was to public primary and secondary schools (p. 43).

Finally, the business sector is trying to convince students of the value of schooling. Programs that send successful minorities into schools demonstrate to young people that there is a possibility of success in the world of work. Students need to work hard and defer current pleasures to succeed in learning the complex skills necessary to ensure national competitiveness and individual survival. The middle class ethic of delayed gratification is just that—*delayed* not *denied*. Young people need to see a payoff for the hard work. As Berryman (1987) puts it:

> ...all children develop an image of their niche in the adult world...Their ideas about the ecology of adult "places" may be distorted and are usually pitifully partial. However, they seem to work out notions of their basic futures and of the trajectories relevant to them, even if they cannot state these explicitly. **And they act on these ideas**... depending on their sense of occupational destination (p. 6, emphasis not added).

Currently, poor Latino and African American youth see that people like them occupy jobs that offer little beside a paycheck. In many areas, there are even few low-pay, low-skill service jobs.

Therefore, programs such as the 100 Black Men mentoring program are important for developing student commitment to studying and hard work. But young people also must be able to look at businesses and see people like themselves occupying positions that indicate that upward mobility is possible. Currently, they see white men at the top of American business. According to a recent study, "since 1979, neither women nor minorities increased their ranks at the level of senior vice president or above more than two percent." More women (3% compared to .5% in 1979) than Hispanics, blacks, or Asians (less than 1%) were at the high levels (Silver, 1990). Business people argue that there are increasing numbers of women and minorities in the ranks of middle management, and, as a result, there will soon be a more diverse group of upper-level managers. Such diversity is important not only for the present, but for the future.

Edge cities contain "more houses than jobs" (Fiore, 1991). The jobs that do exist are low-paying service jobs located in fast-food restaurants and shopping malls. Consequently, edge cities are recreating the two-class society with its lack of opportunity for upward mobility that haunts the older, urban core. Educationally disadvantaged students in edge cities may be looking at the single-rung ladder. As the information presented above indicates, edge city schools are no more successful in ensuring that their educationally disadvantaged students have the problem-solving and communication skills that will allow them to move into the fortunate fifth than are urban schools.

Political Response

Three aspects of the political response to the challenge of the changing demographics are discussed in this section. First, the effect of edge city growth on political representation is noted. This is followed by a discussion of the political effects of increased numbers of Latinos and—in California—Asians. Finally, advocacy approaches to improving education for the growing Latino population is discussed.

Current representation from edge cities reflects their rural and suburban past. That is, representatives are wary of tax-supported programs that serve the poor. Further, the growth of edge cities has come at the expense of central cities. One effect is to lessen the political influence of the urban core, which has historically served as the power base for minority representation. For example, in Southern California, the population explosion in Riverside County is likely to lead to additional legislative seats from there and a decrease in the seats from San Francisco and Los Angeles counties. Indeed, Los Angeles' share of Southern California's regional population has decreased from 18% to less than 12%. Further, although Phoenix grew by 24% during the 1980s, the surrounding suburbs grew by as much as 400%. As a result, Phoenix could lose four seats in the state legislature and two in the state senate (Clifford & Roark, 1991).

The past decade has seen edge city growth and concomitant decline in the political clout of cities at a time when the federal government has decreased education funding. Currently, the federal share has dwindled to about 6%. Consequently, the burden of support for education has shifted to the state and local levels. At the state level, funding for education is not growing fast enough to meet the challenge of the changing demographics. In 1984-85, education spending accounted for 37.8% of Arizona's state budget and spending for elementary and secondary education accounted for 23.8%. In 1985-86, the figures changed only slightly, to 38.8% and 25%, respectively (NCES, 1988, p. 33; NCES, 1989, p. 36). For Nevada, there was a somewhat greater change: 25.7% for all education functions and 18.3% for elementary and secondary schools in 1984-85 to 29% and 20.6%, respectively, in 1985-86. California, however, saw a small decline in overall funding for education and a smaller increase in elementary and secondary funding. In 1984-85, education funding accounted for 32.5% of state spending, and 20.7% of elementary and secondary. In 1985-86, the numbers were 32.2% and 20.8%, respectively. The

budget proposed by Governor Wilson includes an increase of 5.4% for education, but suspends the cost of living adjustments for educators.

Virtually steady levels of state support for education and declining federal support have placed increased burdens on local government units. The result is a growing inequality in all government services—particularly public schools. Poorer towns have a double problem: first, there are fewer fiscal resources on which to draw and second, there are greater needs for services (Reich, 1991). Because the tax base in edge cities is slim, there are many special tax levies for schools, roads, and sewers. "Some residents pay hundreds of dollars in special taxes every year" (Fiore, 1991). As a result, residents of edge cities are reluctant to vote for candidates who argue for the need to increase state taxes to ensure high levels of services—including educational services—throughout the state. Although edge cities might be prime beneficiaries of increased state taxes, their citizens view themselves as the prime victims.

Much of the population growth in the metropolitan areas of the region comes from the growing population of Latinos and Asians. As these groups grow, they challenge how the political system works. The number of elected Hispanic officials in California has grown from 460 in 1984 to 572 in 1990 and from 3,128 to 4,004 nationwide over the same time period (Mydans, 1991). These gains did not come easily. In Los Angeles County, for example, Latinos filed suit under the Voting Rights Act, claiming the incumbent supervisors gerrymandered their districts to prevent Latino representation on the board of county supervisors. The supervisors unsuccessfully fought the case to the U. S. Supreme Court and there is now a district that is predominantly Latino. Challenges to at-large elections for various types of local boards currently are in the courts. If successful, their replacement by single-member districts should lead to increased Latino and Asian representation (Mydans, 1991).

Increased political participation is one effect of increased representation. Although Latino voting rates remain low, the primary election for the first Latino seat on the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors saw a greater turnout than did the California gubernatorial election (Mydans, 1991).

Further, Latinos in edge cities are organizing to ensure their political voice is heard. An example of one such organization is in Bell Gardens, CA. Since 1970, the population has grown from 29,308 to 42,355 and the percentage of Spanish-surnamed residents has increased from 22% to 85%, but the number of registered voters has declined from 5,327 to 4, 919. After two important electoral defeats and the passage of a zoning plan that will have a negative impact on Latinos, Latino activists have begun to organize voter registration drives (Griego, 1991). The increased exercise of the Latino political voice will influence not only who is elected, but will influence the programs supported on state and local levels in the long run. According to one political scientist, Asian participation is lagging slightly behind Latino participation, but is also growing (Mydans, 1991).

Finally, Latinos are the fastest-growing ethnic group in the region. They are pursuing their interests through advocacy. Recent studies indicate that Latinos are less likely to be enrolled in preschool programs; graduate from high school; and enter and graduate from college, professional, or graduate schools than other groups in the United States (Merl, 1991a). The Latino community has responded by mounting a variety of advocacy efforts. One involves filing lawsuits alleging unequal treatment by school districts. In Los Angeles, old facilities and less experienced teachers in schools serving large numbers of Latino students from low income homes are said to comprise the "unequal treatment." In addition, advocacy groups like the National Council of La Raza have undertaken demonstration programs, located both in the urban core and in edge cities, that address the needs of Latino students. These demonstrations include after-school enrichment programs, dropout recovery efforts, parent education and involvement programs, and staff development for teachers (Merl, 1991b). Demonstration program success will provide data that can be used to lobby for public support for similar efforts (Merl, 1991b).

To summarize, the political response to the changing demographics and edge city growth is mixed. On the one hand, the growth of edge cities will decrease the number of representatives from the urban core, the source of most minority representation in state legislatures. Such a result may well decrease attention to the needs of the poor and minorities if representation from the edge cities remains reluctant to fund programs that serve the educationally disadvantaged. On the other hand, minority groups are increasing their

political participation by challenging existing political structures and advocating for programs that serve their needs. Due to their growing numbers, Latino and Asian representation and influence in state and local government will rise if increased political participation follows current trends.

DEVELOPING AN AGENDA

As stated earlier, the METRO Center's focus on edge cities is grounded in the belief that edge city residents, educators, and business people have the energy to overcome the hurdles placed before them by the changing demographics. That is, the challenges of their changing demography have not yet overwhelmed the possibility of success. And as edge cities experience success in meeting the challenge of the changing demographics, those successes can be shared.

Indeed, a major function of the METRO Center is to identify programs that have promise of being successful with educationally disadvantaged students in edge cities and then work with districts to adapt those programs to local circumstances. The METRO Center will actively facilitate sharing of successes.

Perhaps equally important, the METRO Center will work to develop knowledge to help edge cities jump the hurdles. For example, one research effort under way in the Center is a Study of Indicators of Success, which will identify metropolitan districts that have been successful in serving their educationally disadvantaged students. The study will document the policies and practices that lead to such success. Other Center projects address: information needs at the school-site level that allow teachers and administrators to adjust instruction to ensure student achievement; the induction of new teachers into rapidly growing, ethnolinguistically diverse school districts; and programs in such settings that ensure limited English proficient students master the curriculum.

The challenge of the changing demography is enormous. It will require concerted work to create an educational system that can meet the needs of children in this demanding society. The necessary coalition building will involve working across groups on a variety of issues. It will involve arguments about how best to proceed. But only through such efforts can the children be served.

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